

Message Text

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ACTION EA-09

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AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 0765

CINCPAC ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR HODGSON AND POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR CH JA

SUBJ: SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS IN THE AFTERMATH OF CHOU'S DEATH AND
GROMYKO'S VISIT

REF: STATE 008581 DTG 141768Z JAN 76 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: JAPANESE BELIEVE THAT THE COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP WHICH HAS
FUNCTIONED UNDER DEP PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING WILL CONTINUE TO WORK
AND FOLLOW DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY LINES HITHERTO ESTABLISHED.
TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POWER AND BECAUSE OF HIS GREATER INTEREST IN
DOMESTIC MATTERS, TENG IS NOT EXPECTED TO UNDERTAKE AT AN EARLY
DATE MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY INITIATIVES, INCLUDING A PEACE AND
FRIENDSHIP TREATY WITH JAPAN.

MOREOVER, DESPITE THE RELISH WITH WHICH PEKING
MUST HAVE VIEWED GROMYKO'S VISIT TO TOKYO, THE FONOFF CONTENTS THAT
RESULTS WERE AS CHINESE MUST HAVE EXPECTED AND PRC POLICIES WILL
NOT BE AFFECTED THEREBY. MIKI IMAGE MAY HAVE IMPROVED SLIGHTLY AS
RESULT OF HIS REMARKS, FAVORABLE TO PEKING AND STERN TOWARD

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MOSCOW, MADE AT FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS CLUB AFTER GROMYKO

DEPARTED, BUT RECENT COMMENTS TO JAPANESE STILL INDICATE CONSIDERABLE CHINESE RESERVE AT BEST TOWARD MIKI. NEVERTHELESS, MIKI AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA HAVE ADROITLY WORKED SEVERAL MONTHS TO DEVELOP A CONSENSUS IN THE LDP TO INCLUDE THE "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE IN THE BODY OF A PFT WITH THE MIYAZAWA INTERPRETATIONS AND THEY HAVE GONE FAR IN PREPARING THE DOMESTIC STAGE FOR CONCLUSION OF THE TREATY. MIKI ARDENTLY WANTS THE TREATY FOR HIS OWN POLITICAL REASONS, BUT SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS PROCESS WILL REQUIRE FLEXIBILITY ON THE CHINESE PART. END SUMMARY.

1. THE DEATH OF CHOU EN -LAI, THE TOKYO VISIT BY GROMYKO, MONTHS OF DOMESTIC CONSENSUS-BUILDING BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA AND PM MIKI, AND FINALLY PM MIKI'S COMMENTS AT THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS CLUB JAN 13 WOULD SEEM TO HAVE SET THE STAGE FOR EARLY RESUMPTION OF PFT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN PEKING AND TOKYO. THUS FAR, HOWEVER THE CHINESE HAVE MAINTAINED THEIR ATTITUDE OF RESERVE AT BEST TOWARD THE JAPANESE APPROACH TO RESOLVING THE HEGEMONY ISSUE MADE BY FONMIN MIYAZAWA TO CHIAO KUAN-HUA IN NEW YORK IN SEPTEMBER. CHANCES FOR EARLY PROGRESS, IN FONOFF CHINA DIVDIR FUJITA'S VIEW, ARE STILL DIM.

2. DEATH OF CHOU EN-LAI, FUJITA FULLY SHARED WASHINGTON'S ASSESSMENT IN REFTTEL, ON WHICH WE DREW FOR DISCUSSION, ADDING THAT HE ALSO ANTICIPATED NO CHANGE IN CHINESE POLICY TOWARD JAPAN AS A RESULT OF CHOU'S DEATH. HE STRESSED THAT A COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP STRUCTURE HAS BEEN FUNCTIONING UNDER DEP PREMIER TENG HSIAO-PING FOR A YEAR AND HE EXPECTS THE MECHANISM TO CONTINUE TO OPERATE. BECAUSE OF TENG'S WELL-PLACED CONNECTIONS IN THE PARTY, GOVERNMENT AND MILITARY HIERARCHY, FUJITA COMMENTED, HE IS PROBABLY IN A STRONGER POSITION THAN CHOU HIMSELF WAS IN EARLY 1973. TENG'S STRENGTH IS IN EFFECT FROM THE BOTTOM UP WHEREAS CHOU'S RADIATED FROM TOP DOWN. HOWEVER, BECAUSE TENG WILL NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON CONSOLIDATING HIS DOMESTIC POSITION AND BECAUSE OF HIS OWN PREDILECTION, FUJITA DOUBTS THAT PEKING WILL

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UNDERTAKE ANY MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY MOVES, INCLUDING PFT, IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

3. GROMYKO'S VISIT. CHINESE HAVE OF COURSE PLAYED NON-DEVELOPMENTS OF GROMYKO'S VISIT WITH SOME RELISH, BUT FUJITA CONTENTS CHINESE REALIZED EVEN PRIOR TO THE VISIT THAT SOVIET-JAPANESE RELATIONS WERE STALEMATED AND THAT THERE

WOULD PROBABLY BE NO BREAKTHROUGH DURING THE VISIT ON THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES ISSUE, ASIAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY, OR MOSCOW'S PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERIM FRIENDSHIP TREATY. PM MIKI'S UNEQUIVOCAL REMARKS AT THE FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS' CLUB (TOKYO 0507) COULD CONCEIVABLY HAVE BEEN OF SOME USE IN ELEVATING THE LOW REGARD IN WHICH MIKI SEEMS TO BE HELD BY CHINESE LEADERSHIP. FUJITA WAS PLEASED THAT NCNA ACCOMPANIED ITS COMMENTS ON THE GROMYKO VISIT WITH A RUNDOWN OF MIKI'S SPEECH AT THE CORRESPONDENTS' CLUB.

4. NEVERTHELESS, EMANATIONS FROM PEKING ON THE JAPANESE APPROACH TO PFT HAVE STILL BEEN RESERVED OR WORSE. PRC VICE PREMIER LI HSIEN-NIEN ASKED RECENTLY VISITING LDP DIETMAN KONO CHUJI RHETORICALLY WHETHER PM MIKI HAD REALLY MADE THE POLITICAL DECISION TO TACKLE THE PFT ISSUE. (NOTE: THIS IS A LONG-TIME KONO LINE AND KONO IS NO FRIEND OF MIKI.) CHINA-JAPAN PEACE/FRIENDSHIP ASSN HEAD LIAO CHENG-CHIH WAS EVEN MORE SKEPTICAL ABOUT MIKI'S RESOLVE WITH KONO. WHEN KONO COMMENTED TO LIAO THAT PM MIKI HAD IN HIS NEW YEAR'S REMARKS TO PRESS STRESSED THAT HIS PRIORITY DIPLOMATIC MISSION FOR 1976 WAS CONCLUSION OF THE PFT, LIAO RETORTED SARCASTICALLY THAT THIS WAS THE SAME LINE FROM MIKI THEY HAD BEEN HEARING ALL LAST YEAR. JAPANESE EMBASSY MINISTER YANAGIYA IN PEKING MET A NUMBER OF CHINESE OFFICIALS DURING HIS FAREWELL CALLS AND ON SOCIAL OCCASIONS AND, ACCORDING TO FUJITA, HE DETECTED NO MELLOWING OF THE CHINESE ATTITUDE TOWARD MIKI OR THE PFT. FUJITA IS DISTRESSED BY A FLURRY OF PRESS REPORTS, ESPECIALLY IN YOMIURI, THAT PM MIKI INTENDS TO UNDERTAKE AN EARLY INITIATIVE TO TRY TO RESUME PFT NEGOTIATIONS. FONOFF AND PM MIKI FEAR THAT SUCH

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REPORTS WILL CLOUD THE ISSUE AND FURTHER DELAY A RESPONSE FROM THE CHINESE TO MIYAZAWA'S APPROACH, NOW MADE NEARLY FOUR MONTHS AGO. INDICATING HIS PESSIMISM, FUJITA CONCLUDED THAT CHAIRMAN MAO HIMSELF WOULD HAVE TO INSTRUCT TENG TO CONCLUDE THE PFT IN ORDER TO REALIZE THE TREATY QUICKLY. LATER JAN 19, AFTER A MIKI-MIYAZAWA MEETING, THE LEADERS TOLD THE MEDIA THE GOJ WOULD "WAIT AND SEE" WHAT THE CHINESE REACTION TO RECENT DEVELOPMENTS MIGHT BE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 0765

CINCPAC ALSO FOR AMBASSADOR HODGSON AND POLAD

5. COMMENT: TO IMPROVE HIS AND PARTY'S IMAGE AND AT THE SAME TIME CUT GROUND FROM UNDER HIS PRO-CHINESE OPPONENTS WITHIN THE LDP, PM MIKI ARDENTLY WANTS TO CONCLUDE THE PFT WITH PEKING. SINCE LAST JUNE WHEN PM MIKI SEEMS TO HAVE MADE THE "POLITICAL DECISION" REGARDING PFT LONG CALLED FOR BY THE CHINESE, HE AND FONMIN MIYAZAWA HAVE ADROITLY MOVED THE LDP AND GOJ NEAR TO CONSENSUS WHICH SHOULD PERMIT INCLUSION OF THE "ANTI-HEGEMONY" CLAUSE IN THE BODY OF THE PFT. THERE WOULD BE GRUMBLING AMONG PRO-SOVIET DIETMEN, BUT WE BELIEVE THE "CONDITIONING" PROCESS WHICH MIKI AND MIYAZAWA CARRIED OUT HAS PRODUCED THE NECESSARY SHIFT IN ATTITUDE IN JAPAN TO PROCEED. AS POINTED OUT IN TOKYO 0679, THE GROMYKO VISIT SATISFIED THE REQUIREMENTS OF FORM IN THE MIKI-MIYAZAWA SCENARIO. FOR PRO-CHINESE POLITICIANS, THE VISIT WENT OFF AS HOPED, SETTING THE STAGE FOR MIKI'S UNAMBIGUOUS COMMENTS TO THE PRESS CLUB.

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6. FLEXIBILITY ON THE CHINESE PART WILL BE REQUIRED
BEFORE THE PFT CAN BE BROUGHT TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION,
EVEN IF THE JAPANESE AGREE TO INCLUDE AN ANTI-HEGEMONY
CLAUSE IN THE BODY OF THE TREATY. FOR EXAMPLE, MIKI'S
PREPARATORY WORK AT HOME WILL UNRAVEL UNLESS THE CHINESE
AGREE NOT TO OPPOSE THE MIYAZAWA INTERPRETATION OF THE
HEGEMONY CLAUSE THAT THE JAPANESE WANT TO PRESENT TO
DOMESTIC AND WORLD AUDIENCES. WE EXPECT THE JAPANESE
TO DO WHAT THEY CAN TO AVOID LOOKING AS IF THEY HAVE
SURRENDERED COMPLETELY TO CHINESE PRESSURE. IN SUM,
WHILE THE JAPANESE WANT A TREATY, AND THEY HAVE TOLD THE
SOVIETS AS MUCH, SUCCESS OR FAILURE STILL DEPENDS UPON DECISIONS
TO BE MADE IN PEKING.
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